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MR. VAN BUREN AND THE WAR.

The *United States Telegraph*, the befitting organ of the Second Coalition, attempts to falsify history, and impose upon the credulity of its readers, in a labored article, on the 29th of Feb., from which the following extracts are made :

" The partizans of Mr. Van Buren, who have taken upon themselves the task of elaborating public sentiment, and of relieving the people from the trouble of thinking for themselves, have endeavored to break the force of the objections urged against the confirmation of his appointment as minister to England, by suppressing the speeches of those senators who voted against him, and charging a coalition between Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Webster; and with unblushing impudence, connect the proceedings of the senate, on Mr. V. B.'s nomination, with the Hartford Convention."

" The attempt to identify Mr. Calhoun with the Hartford Convention, or even to assail Mr. Webster on account of it, comes with a bad grace, indeed, from the partizans of Mr. Van Buren. Mr. V. B., at that day, was rising into consequence, as a member of the republican party of New-York. Governor Clinton was selected by the anti-war party, (the real Hartford Convention party), as their candidate in opposition to Mr. Madison, who had been selected as the candidate of the republican party of the nation, and whose re-election to the presidency, it was well understood, would be construed as a declaration, on the part of the American people, of their determination to prosecute with rigor, the war, which was the leading measure of his administration."

" Where, then, was Mr. V. B.'s patriotism—— where his devotion to republicanism? At no period in the history of the government was a sacrifice of personal considerations more necessary to the glory of the country, and the experiment of self-government, than during the late war. We had engaged with a powerful nation, in a bloody contest for our rights; and the honor, nay, the very existence of the government, in some measure depended on the unanimity of the republican party in its efforts to carry out the war it had commenced, to a successful termination. At such a time, private griefs and personal aggrandizement might be expected to yield to the calls of a bleeding country, and the necesssities of that party which effected the political revolution of '98. Where do we find Mr. Van Buren in those days of gloom and apprehension? Is he then to be found breasting the torrent of opposition which threatened to bear down not only the President selected by the republicans of '98, but even to extinguish the very party which placed Mr. Jefferson in power? Or was he found chiming in sweet concord with those federalists now so liberally denounced? He was."

" Yet, Mr. V. B.'s partizans have the unblushing impudence to arraign Mr. Webster for pursuing a similar course, though he had all the pride of party, all the power of its discipline, and all the consistency of opposition, founded on political principle, to plead in his behalf, and to justify his conduct."

If there is any period in Mr. VAN BUREN'S life, to which more than another, his friends can recur, as evidence of his devoted patriotism and transcendent talents, it is to his course in the Senate of this State, during the war : And his friends, however much they may despise the base calumnies of the Telegraph, have reason to thank the author of them for the occasion which he has afforded of re-kindling the fire of the second war of independence ; and of showing that Mr. VAN BUREN'S whole soul was engrossed in that great contest, for which JACKSON fought and conquered at New-Orleans.

" Where," asks the Telegraph, " do we find Mr. Van Buren in those days of gloom and apprehension?" We answer, on the side of his country, where he has always been found: And in confirmation of this, we can refer with proud satisfaction, to every act of his life.

Mr. VAN BUREN was elected to the legislature in April, 1812. War was declared in June of that year. The legislature met in November following ; and this was the commencement of Mr. VAN BUREN'S career as a legislator. According to the practice at that period, each house returned an answer to the Governor's speech. In the senate, the committee to draft an answer to the Governor's speech consisted of Mr. WILKIN, Mr. VAN BUREN and Judge PLATT, the latter having been at a preceding election, the federal candidate for governor, against DANIEL D. TOMPKINS. The answer agreed upon by Mr. VAN BUREN and gen. WILKIN, and reported Nov. 10, 1812, contained the following patriotic and truly American sentiments :

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To his excellency DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, *Governor of the State of New-York—*

Sir—The senate fully concur with your excellency in the sentiment, that at a period like the present, when our country is engaged in war, with one of the most powerful of the nations of Europe, difference of opinion, on abstract points, should not be suffered to impede or prevent an united and vigorous support of the constituted authority of the nation; and duly impressed with a conviction, that in the breast of the real patriot all individual considerations and feelings should be absorbed in a paramount regard for his country's welfare, the senate will cheerfully and firmly unite their exertions with those of the other departments of the government, to apply the energies of the state to a vigorous prosecution of the war, until the necessity of its further continuance shall be superseded by an honorable peace, the only legitimate object of war.

The different subjects submitted to the consideration of the senate, by your excellency, shall receive their early and prompt attention; and believing as they do, that respect for the memory of the soldier whose life is sacrificed in the service of his country, and to make provision for his destitute family, is the duty of all governments, and especially of a government like ours, in which more than any other the character of the patriot is united with that of the soldier;—the situation of the families of the officers and soldiers of the militia of this state, who have fallen or been disabled in the battle of Queenstown, shall receive the seasonable attention of the senate, and be disposed of by them in such manner as shall in their judgment best comport with the honor and justice of the state.

Judge PLATT offered a substitute for this address, in which he "solemnly deplored the unwise and improvident exercise of power which has thus without preparation, and without necessity, plunged our country into a war with one of the most powerful nations of the world"—and that "the unqualified claim upon the state legislature, and upon our citizens, to 'subserve the national will,' by voluntary exertions and supplies, whether that will be wisely or unwisely directed, is a claim of questionable right, and equivocal import." This substitute was rejected by Mr. VAN BUREN and his political friends, 20 to 7. In proceeding upon the original draft of the address, Mr. Radcliff moved to insert after the word "war"—"*in so far as the same shall be directed to the purposes of defence*"—which was negatived by Mr. VAN BUREN and those who acted with him. After this, the original draft of the address was adopted, and Mr. VAN BUREN was appointed chairman of the committee to wait upon Governor TOMPKINS, to know when he would receive the senate with their answer to his speech.

Mr. VAN BUREN, in the same session, voted for a resolution authorising the comptroller to subscribe half a million of dollars, to the sixteen million loan. This passed the senate, 15 to 11, but was rejected in the assembly, where the federalists had a majority.

During the winter session of 1813, Mr. VAN BUREN was found "breasting the torrent of opposition," and supporting with the zeal of a true patriot, every measure which had a tendency to strengthen the arm of the national government, or to give security to the extended frontiers of his own state.

The close of the legislative session of 1813, was an important crisis in the affairs of our republic. The New-England states were entirely under the control of the opposers of the general government and the war. They not only refused all aid to the national government, in men and money, but a resolution was passed by the state, which Mr. WEBSTER, the right arm of the coalition now represents, declaring that it was "unbecoming a moral and religious people, to rejoice at the victories" achieved by our gallant countrymen.

The syren song of "*Peace, liberty and commerce,*" had been sounded in the ears of a people suffering under the pressure of war, so effectually as to produce a decided majority in the popular branch of our own legislature, against the national administration and the war.

Such was the posture of affairs at the close of the session of 1813; and the election, which was to decide whether New-York would stand by the government, or cast its weight into the scale of its opponents, was to take place in April. The eyes of the nation were upon us—and it is no exageration to say, that every true friend of the integrity of the Union, felt the most intense anxiety, for the re-election of that faithful patriot, DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, as governor of this state. We might aptly say of this period, as Thomas Paine said in 1776, after the retreat of Washington through the Jerseys—"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman."

"Where do we find Mr. VAN BUREN, in those days of gloom and apprehension?" Let the following extracts from the eloquent and patriotic address from the members of the legislature to the republicans of the state, answer. This was written by Mr. VAN BUREN, and is of itself, a most triumphant vindication of his course, from the aspersions cast upon him by envy and malice: And if his assailants were not dead to every feeling of honor and of patriotism, a perusal of these

extracts would overwhelm them with shame and confusion.

Extracts from the Address of the Republican Members of the Legislature, to their constituents, March 9, 1813.

Fellow-citizens—It is not to the arbitrary mandates of despotic power, that your submission is demanded; it is not to the seductive wiles and artful blandishments of the corrupt minions of aristocracy, that your attention is called—but to an expression and discussion of the wishes and feelings of your representatives.

You are invited to listen with calmness and impartiality, to the sentiments and opinions of men who claim no right superior to yours,—who claim no authority to address you save that of custom; who would scorn to obtain the coincidence of your opinion by force or stratagem, and who seek no influence with you, except that which arises from conscious rectitude, from a community of hopes and of fears, of rights and of interests.

In making this appeal, which is sanctioned by usage, and the necessity of which is rendered imperious by the situation of our common country, we feel it to be our duty, as it is our wish, to speak to you in the language which alone becomes freemen to use—the language to which alone it becomes freemen to listen—the language of truth and sincerity;—to speak to you of things as they are, and as they should be,—to speak to you with unrestrained freedom, of your rights and your duties,—and if by so doing we shall be so fortunate as to convince you of the correctness of the opinions we hold; to communicate to you the anxious solicitude we feel for our country and its rights, to turn your attention from the minor considerations which have hitherto divided, distracted and disgraced the American people, and to direct it exclusively to the contemplation and support of your national honor and national interests, *our first* and only object will be effected.

That tempest of passion and of lawless violence which has hitherto almost exclusively raged in the countries of the old world, which has ravaged the fairest portions of the earth, and caused her sons to drink deep of the cup of human misery—not satiated by the myriads of victims which have been sacrificed at its shrine, has reached our hitherto peaceful shores. After years of forbearance, in despite of concessions without number, and we had almost said, without limitation, that cruel and unrelenting spirit of oppression and injustice which has for centuries characterized the spirit of the British cabinet, overwhelmed nation after nation, and caused humanity to shed tears of blood, has involved us in a war,—on the termination of which are staked the present honor, and the future welfare of America.

While thus engaged in an arduous and interesting struggle with the open enemies of our land from without, the formation of your government requires that you should exercise the elective franchise,—a right which in every other country has been destroyed by the ruthless hand of power, or blasted by the unhallowed touch of corruption; but which, by the blessings of a munificent Providence, has as yet been preserved to *you* in its purity.

The selection of your most important functionaries is at hand. In a government like ours, where all power and sovereignty rests with the people, the exercise of this right, and the consequent expression of public interest and public feeling, is on ordinary occasions, a matter of deep concern, but at a period like the present, of *vital* importance;—to satisfy you of that importance, and to advise you in its exercise, is the object of this address.

Fellow-citizens—Your country is at war, and Great Britain is her enemy. Indulge us in a brief examination of the causes which have led to it; and brief as from the necessary limits of an address it must be,—we yet hope it will be found sufficient to convince every honest man, of THE HIGH JUSTICE AND INDISPENSIBLE NECESSITY OF THE ATTITUDE, WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN; OF THE SACRED DUTY OF EVERY REAL AMERICAN TO SUPPORT IT IN THAT ATTITUDE, AND OF THE PARRICIDAL VIEWS OF THOSE WHO REFUSE TO DO SO.

[Here follows an eloquent summary of the causes which led to the war—of the preliminary efforts, the embargo, non-intercourse, &c., to induce the belligerent nations to do us justice, without a resort to that alternative—and of the series of aggressions on the part of Great Britain, which rendered it, in the language of the address, a measure of "high justice and indispensible necessity."]

By this last act [the disavowal by the British government of the arrangement with Mr. Eskrine, and the formal re-enactment, by that government, of the orders in council, the doors of conciliation were effectually closed.] The American people—a people rich in resources, possessed of a high sense of national honor, the only free people on earth—had resolved in the face of an observing world, that *those orders were a direct attack upon their sovereignty; that a submission to them involved a surrender of their independence*—and a solemn determination to adhere to them, was officially declared by the ruler of the British nation. Thus situated, what was your government to do? Was there room for doubt or hesitation as to the hostile views of England? No. Lest such doubts might prevent a rupture, to acts of violent injustice, were continually added acts of the most opprobrious insult.—While the formal relations of amity remained yet unbroken—while peace was yet supposed to exist, in cool blood an unprovoked attack is made upon one of your national ships, and several American citizens basely and cowardly murdered. At the moment your feelings were at the highest pitch of irritation in consequence of the perfidious disavowal of Erskine's agreement, a minister is sent, not to minister to your rights—not to extenuate the conduct of his predecessor; *but to heard your Executive—to add insult to injury; and to fling contumely and reproach in the face of the Executive of the American nation, in the presence of the American people.*

To cap the climax of her iniquity; to fill up the measure of our wrongs; she resolved to persist in another measure, surpassed by none in flagrant enormity—a measure, which of itself was adequate cause of war—a measure which had excited the liveliest solicitude, and received the unremitting attention of every administration of our government, from the time of Washington to the presen day; the wicked, the odious and detestable practice of impressing American seamen into her service; of entombing our sons within the walls of her ships of war; compelling them to waste their lives, and spill their blood in the service of a foreign government—a practice which subjected every brave American tar, to the violence and petty tyranny of a British midshipman, and many of them to a life of the most galling servitude—a practice which never can be submitted to by a nation professing claims to freedom; which never can

be acquiesced in by government without rescinding the great article of our safety, *the reciprocity of obedience and protection between the rulers and the ruled.*

Under such accumulated circumstances of insult and of injury, we ask again, what was your government to do? We put the question not "to that faction which misrepresents the government to the people, and the people to the government; traduces one-half of the nation to cajole the other—and by keeping up distrust and division, wishes to become the proud arbiter of the fortune and fate of America"—not to them, but to every *sound head and honest heart* in the nation it is that we put the question,—What was your government to do? Was she basely and ingloriously to abandon the rights for which you and your fathers had fought and bled? Was she so early to cower to the nation who had sought to strangle us in our infancy, and who has never ceased to retard our approach to manhood? No: we will not for a moment doubt, that every man who is in truth and fact an American, will say that WAR, AND WAR ALONE, *was our only refuge from national degradation,—our only course to national prosperity.*

Fellow-citizens, throughout the whole period of the political struggles, which if they have not absolutely disgraced, have certainly not exalted, our character; no remark was more common—no expectation more cheerfully indulged in—than that those severe and malevolent contentions would only be sustained in time of peace; that when the country should be involved in war, every wish, and every sentiment would be exclusively American. But unfortunately for our country, those reasonable expectations have not been realized, notwithstanding every one knows, that the power of declaring war, and the duty of supporting it, belong to the general government; notwithstanding that the constitutional remedy for the removal of the men to whom this power is thus delegated, has recently been afforded; notwithstanding the re-election of the same President, by whom this war was commenced, and a majority of representatives, whose estimate of our rights, and whose views are similar to those who first declared it; men, who by the provisions of the constitution must retrain their respective stations for a period of such duration, as precludes a continued opposition of their measures without a complete destruction of our national interest—an opposition at once unceasing and malignant, is still continued, to every measure of the administration.

Fellow-citizens, these things will not do. They are intrinsically wrong; *your country has engaged in a war in the last degree unavoidable;* it is not waged to the destruction of the rights of others; but in defence of our own; it is, therefore, your bounden duty to support her. You should lay down the character of *partizans,* and become *patriots;* for, in every country, "war becomes an occasional duty, though it ought never to be made an occupation. Every man should become a soldier in defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a soldier for offending the rights of others." In despite of truths so self-evident, of incentives to a vigorous support of government so pressing, we yet have to deplore the existence of a faction in the bosom of our land, whose perseverance and industry are exceeded only by their inveteracy; who seek through every avenue to mislead your judgment and to inflame your passions.

When your government pursues a pacific policy, it becomes the object of their scorn and derision; the want of energy in your rulers is decried, as a matter of alarming consideration; the injuries of your country are admitted, and the fact is triumphantly alleged that "the administration cannot be kicked into a war." When they are impelled to a forcible vindication of our rights, the cry of enmity to peace, of a wish to war with England to serve France, is immediately resounded through the land. When war is declared, public opinion is sought to be prejudiced against the measure, as evincing a disposition unnecessarily to shed your blood, and waste your treasures. When it is discovered, that that declaration is accompanied with a proposition, a just and equitable proposition, to the enemy, on which hostilities may cease and peace be restored, that proposition is derided as evidence of the most disgraceful pusillanimity. No falsehood is considered too glaring, no misrepresentation too flagitious, to impose on your credulity, and seduce your affections from your native land.

Lest general allegations might fail to effect their unholy purposes, and consummate their dark designs, specific charges are resorted to—calumnies which have again and again met the detestation of an enlightened public, are periodically brought forward, new dressed, and with new authorities to give them credence with you. Among the most prominent of those charges, is that of enmity to commerce, on the part of the republican administrations. Never was there a calumny more wicked. Enmity to commerce! We ask, and we ask emphatically, where is the evidence of it? What is the basis on which they rest their claim to public confidence? It is that the administration is engaged in a war which they claim to be unpopular. What are the causes for which this war is waged, and which have hitherto embroiled us with the nations of Europe? They are the *violation of our commercial rights, and the impressment of our seamen!* The administration then, are jeopardising their interest with the people; they furnish weapons of offence to their adversaries; they brave all dangers, for the maintenance, and support of our commercial rights; and yet they are the enemies of commerce! Can such base sophistry, such contemptible nonsense, impose on the credulity, or pervert the understanding, of a single honest man?

As auxiliary to this unfounded aspersion, the oft-exploded, the ten-thousand-times-refuted tale of *French influence,* is ever and anon brought upon the carpet. It would be insulting to your understandings to detain you by a discussion of this odious and insulting insinuation. Was it evidence of Frenchinfluence on the adoption of every measure of commercial restriction, to place both France and England on the same footing? Was it evidence of French influence to cause it to be officially notified to the court of St. James, on the adoption of each of those measures, that in case they rescinded their orders in council, the United States would assume a hostile attitude towards France? Was it evidence of French influence to embrace the earliest opportunity to conclude the arrangement with Erskine—leaving our affairs with France in a hostile attitude? If not, where, then, is the evidence to support this impudent censure? Is it to be found in a similarity of manners, of language, or of feeling? When an Englishman visits your country, is he not received with the familiarity, and cherished with the hospitality of a friend? Is a Frenchman ever treated by you otherwise than as a stranger? Away, then, with those whining, canting professions, of fears and apprehensions of the danger of French influence. Intelligence must reject, and integrity abhor them.

But to crown this picture of folly and of mischief, they approach you under a garb which at once evinces their contempt for your understanding, and their total want of confidence in your patriotism; under a garb which should receive the most distinct marks of your detestation; they are "THE FRIENDS OF PEACE!" While our enemies are waging against us a cruel and bloody war, they cry "Peace." While our western wilds are whitening with the bones of our murdered women and children—while their blood is yet trickling down the walls of their former habitations—while the Indian war-hoop and the British drum, are in unison saluting the ears, and the British dagger and the Indian tomahawk suspended over the heads of our citizens,—at such a time, when the soul of every man who has sensibility to feel his country's wrongs, and spirit to defend her rights, should be in arms--it is that they cry PEACE! While the brave American tar, the intrepid defender of our rights, and redeemer of our national character, the present boast and future honor of our land—is impressed by force into a service he detests, which compels a brother to imbrue his hands in a brother's blood—while he is yet "tossing upon the surface of the ocean, and mingling his groans with those tempests less savage than his persecutors, that waft him to a returnless distance from his family and his home,"—it is at such a period, when there is no peace, when there can be no peace, without sacrificing every thing valuable—*that our feelings are insulted, the public arm paralyzed, and the public ear stunned, by the dastardly and incessant cry of* PEACE! What, fellow-citizens, must be the opinion which they entertain of you, who thus assail you? Can any man be so stupid as not to perceive that it is an appeal *to your fears, to your avarice*, and to all the baser passions which actuate the human heart? that it is approaching you in the manner in which alone those punypoliticians who buz about you, and thicken the political atmosphere, say you are accessible, *through your fears and your pockets?* Can any American citizen be so profligate as not to spurn indignantly the base libel upon his character?

Suffer yourselves not to be deceived by the pretence, that because Great Britain has been forced by her subjects to make a qualified repeal of her orders, our government ought to abandon her ground. That ground was taken to resist two great and crying grievances, the *destruction of our commerce*, and THE IMPRESSMENT OF OUR SEAMEN. The latter is the most important, in proportion as we prefer the liberty and lives of our citizens to their property. Distrust, therefore, the man who could advise your government at any time, and more especially, at this time,—when your brave sailors are exciting the admiration, and forcing the respect of an astonished world, when their deeds of heroic valor make old Ocean smile at the humiliation of her ancient tyrant—at such a time, we say again, mark the man who would countenance government in COMMUTING OUR SAILORS' RIGHTS FOR THE SAFETY OF OUR MERCHANTS' GOODS.

Next to the cry for peace, the most potent spell which has been resorted to, to alarm your fears and pervert your understandings—is the alleged distresses of the country. Fellow-citizens, it has been our object, it is our wish to treat you fairly, to appeal to your judgments, not to your passions; and as we hope our address to you hitherto has been marked by that character—it is to your consciences then that we appeal upon this subject. Is not this clamor most unfounded, most ungrateful? If you doubt that it is so, if you hesitate to believe that it originates exclusively with the ambitious and designing—spend one moment in comparing your situation with that of the major part of the civilized world.

[Here follows a rapid and graphic sketch of the condition of the several European nations; concluding with the following interrogation,—"Look at the whole map of Europe; contrast your own situation with theirs; and then answer us, is it not impious and wicked to repine at our enviable lot?"]

Fellow-citizens—should those political witlings, who are not only ignorant themselves of the leading points of controversy in our disputes with the belligerents, but who are uniformly assailing you as men destitute at once of spirit and of judgment—should they point to the wars which agitate and have convulsed Europe, as arguments against the prosecution of that just and necessary one which has been forced upon us, we know that you will indignantly repel the unfounded suggestion. The wars of Europe are waged by monarchs, to gratify their individual malice, their individual caprice, and to satiate their lawless ambition. Ours is in defence of rights which must be defended, or our glory as a nation will be extinguished—the sun of our greatness will set forever. As well might it have been said during the revolution, that war should not be waged, because wars had desolated Europe. The *same rights you then fought to obtain, you must now fight to preserve—the contest is the same now as it was then—and the feelings which then agitated the public mind, which on the one hand supported, and on an the other sought to destroy, the liberties of the country, will be seen and felt in the conduct of the men of this day.*

Fellow-citizens—we are compelled to close this appeal to you. The limits of an address will not permit us to do justice to the various subjects which should occupy your attention. We are aware that this has been already unreasonably extended; but the period has arrived when mere words and idle declarations must be unavailing. We have, therefore, felt it our duty to give you, as far as practicable, a clear view of your true situation, of your legitimate duties. Unfortunately for us, when we ought to be an united, we are a divided people. The divisions which agitate us are not as to men only, but to principle. You will be called on at the next election, to choose between different candidates, not only for the two great offices of state, governor and lieutenant governor, but for every other elective office—to make a selection which the actual situation of your country renders of infinite importance.

We are divided between the supporters and opposers of our government. We have witnessed the distressing truth, that it is not in the power of circumstances to destroy the virulence of party spirit. The opposition offer for your support, men, who, whatever their private wishes may be, are devoted to the support of a party whose views and whose conduct we have attempted to delineate. In opposition to them, we respectfully solicit your support for the men whose nomination accompanies this address, one of whom [DANIEL D. TOMPKINS] has for six years served you in the capacity which we now offer him; the other [JOHN TAYLER] has for many years served you in the most responsible situations. The notoriety of their merits supersedes the necessity of our eulogium—their lives are their best encomiums; they are the true friends of commerce; their views are, and their conduct will be, in unison with the measures of the general government; they are the sincere friends of an honorable peace, the firm and energetic opposers of a base surrender of our rights.

We respectfully solicit for them your undivided support. We solemnly conjure every real friend to his country, to reflect on the danger of abandoning his government at a period so perilous; to reflect on the impropriety of even indirectly aiding the views of our enemies by continuing his opposition to government at a period so eventful.

[Alluding to the republicans who had advocated Mr Clinton's election to the presidency, the address has the following appeal:] We solicit the honest men of *all parties*--to remember, that ours is the last republic —that all the influence of the crowned heads of Europe has been exerted to propagate the doctrine, that a government like ours can never stand the rude shock of war; to reflect that this is the first occasion in which this government has been engaged in a war, and that the great and interesting questions, whether man is capable of self-government, whether our republic must go the way of its predecessors, or whether, supported by the hearts and arms of her free citizens, she shall deride the revilings, and defeat the machinations of her enemies, *is now to be tried.*

Fellow-citizens—In the result of our elections during the continuance of this war, these important considerations are involved,—the question of WHO IS FOR HIS COUNTRY OR AGAINST HIS COUNTRY, must now be tried—the eyes of Europe are directed towards us—the efficacy of your mild and wholesome form of government is put to the test.—*To the polls*, then, and by a united and vigorous support of the candidates we submit to you, discharge the great duty you owe to your country, preserve for your posterity the rich inheritance which has been left you by your ancestors,—that future ages may triumphantly point to the course you pursued on this interesting occasion, as evidence that time had not as yet extinguished that spirit which actuated the heroes of *Breedshill* and of *Yorktown;* of those who fell at *Camden*, and of those who conquered on the plains of *Saratoga.*

This noble appeal was not made in vain.—The patriot TOMPKINS was elected governor, in April 1813, by a majority of 3,500. The assembly, however, continued in the hands of the federalists, by a majority of eight members. This enabled them to control all the civil appointments, extending to sheriffs and clerks of counties, as well as justices of the peace. This power in the hands of those who were opposed to the war, together with the negative of the assembly upon all laws designed to give energy to its prosecution, afforded the opposition the means of greatly crippling the operations of Gov. TOMPKINS, and of thwarting all the salutary measures brought forward by a republican senate, and consequently of embarrassing the national administration.

In this state of things, gov. TOMPKINS, with a devotion to his country which has few parallels, assumed a responsibility beyond the law; and with the whole official power in active exercise against him, called out the resources of the state, and almost single-handed, protected our frontiers, saved the honor of the state, and shielded its character from the blighting influence of the Hartford Convention. The senate alone, in which Mr. VAN BUREN, by his great talents and devoted patriotism, had been placed on commanding ground, remained faithful to TOMPKINS and to the country, at this eventful crisis.

The legislative sessions of 1813 and 1814, were peculiarly trying. The measures of a patriotic character which were adopted in a republican senate, were defeated in a federal assembly. "These differences," says a faithful sketch of those events, "led to several public conferences, in which the points in controversy—involving the justice and expediency of the war, and the conduct and merits of the national administration, not less than the particular measure in dispute—were debated at large, in the presence of the two houses, by committees chosen on the part of each, and with all the energy and ardor which the spirit of the times was calculated to inspire. These conferences, from the nature of their subjects, the solemnity with which they were conducted, and the crowded and excited auditors that attended them, presented opportunities for the display of popular eloquence, almost rivalling, in dignity and interest, the assemblies of ancient Greece.—In all of them Mr. VAN BUREN was a principal speaker on the part of the senate, and by his dexterity in debate, his powerful reasoning, and his patriotic defence of the government and its measures, commanded great applause."

In the spring of 1814, the republicans gained the ascendency in the popular branch of the legislature. And such were the exigences of the country, caused by the refusal of former legislatures to co-operate with the governor, and the great augmentation of the British troops, released as they had been from the conflicts of Europe—that gov. TOMPKINS convened the legislature* by proclamation, Sept. 26, 1814, to deliberate upon the affairs of the state and nation.

At the opening of this session, Mr. VAN BUREN wrote and reported to the senate an answer to the Governor's speech, in which, after alluding to the disgraceful course of the enemy, in giving a character of more

* It was during this extra session that the Federal Republican, the leading paper of the federal party, issued the following decree against the integrity of the Union: ☞ "*On or before the 4th of July, if James Madison is not out of office, a new form of government will be in operation in the Eastern section of the Union. Instantly after, the contest in many of the states will be, whether to adhere to the old, or join the new government.*" This traitorous sentiment was uttered in November, 1814, and only a few weeks before the meeting of the Hartford Convention.

violence to the war, after having invited ambassadors for peace, it adds :—

" Whether this conduct has proceeded from ancient animosities, now seeking their gratification in the infliction of injuries upon those who once defied and foiled his power : Whether from a desire of finding abroad employment for troops, whom it was not thought prudent to disband at home: Whether from hostility to our civil institutions, and the vain hope of subverting the fair fabric, which by the wisdom, the virtue and the valor of our fathers, has been reared and secured to us; or from a calculation, that by carrying his arms into the heart of the country, and marking his course with desolation and ruin, he could make an impression on the government, which should avail him in the proposed negociations; or on the people, which should be remembered to his advantage in any question which should hereafter arise between the nations : Whatever may have been his motives, or whatever his expectations, the senate cannot but exult, in common with your Excellency and the country, that thus far, 'we have sustained the shock with firmness, and gathered laurels from the strife.' That although he has succeeded in penetrating to the Capital, his momentary triumph, disgraced as it was by the destruction of public edifices, and the subsequent plunder of a defenceless city, has before this time been imbittered by the reflection, that by the conflagration of those monuments of art, which public spirit and munificence had erected, and which were consecrated by the name of their illustrious founder—he has kindled a flame of patriotism which pervades every section of the Union, which has already lit the way to his severe discomfiture, and which threatens his complete annihilation at every assailable point of the Union, to which his ambition or his resentment may lead him.* The senate have witnessed with the same admiration evinced by your excellency, the brilliant achievements of our army and navy during the present campaign, achievements, which in their immediate effects have been so highly and extensively beneficial to our frontier citizens—achievments which have pierced the gloom, that for a season obscured our political horizon, and dispelled those fearful forebodings which past disasters had excited—exploits which will not suffer in a comparison with the most heroic efforts of the veterans of the old world, which have fully maintained if not enhanced the proud and enviable fame of our gallant seamen—exploits which have covered the actors in those bright scenes with never fading laurels, and which will, until public gratitude ceases to be a public virtue, call forth the highest testimonials which a free people can yield to freemen—unceasing reverence for the memories of those who have died on the field of honor, and acts of unceasing gratitude to their heroic survivors.

The senate have seen with great satisfaction, the prompt and efficacious measures adopted by your excellency, to avert the dangers, which threatened the state, and believing as they do, that whatever executive authority may have been exercised for which no legislative provision existed, it has not only been intended for the promotion of the public good, but was rendered indispensible by the pressure of existing circumstances; they cannot doubt that the measures to which your excellency referred, will be found to deserve their approbation and support."

At this session Mr. Van Buren introduced the celebrated law for the classification of the militia, entitled " an act to authorize the raising of troops for the defence of the state." This law authorized the governor to call into actual service, twelve thousand of the militia for two years. It preceded, in point of time, the classification bill reported to congress by Mr. Monroe, the same year. Mr. Webster, and his disciples, in the east, stigmatized both of these measures as conscriptions more odious than those of Bonaparte.

It should be borne in mind that our legislature, in which these strong measures were adopted in favor of the country, was in session during the very period when the Hartford Convention was holding its dark conclaves in an adjoining state. Will an honest, a patriotic, and a chivalrous people, allow the *nullifiers* of that day, and the *nullifiers* of this, to form an unholy alliance, not only to crush the fearless champion of our country's rights in that day of her peril; but to rob him of the fair fame so freely awarded to him by his native state, for his matchless eloquence, and lofty patriotism? Is the man who was a faithful laborer with Tompkins, in all the trials of the war, to be thus vilified by the allies and co-workers of Daniel Webster and the Hartford Convention?

On the 13th of February, 1815, Mr. Van Buren was appointed on the committee to report resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the legislature, in relation to the battle of New-Orleans. He prepared the following draft, which was altered, however, in the joint committee, by striking out the preamble.

" Whereas, in all ages and in every clime, even among the most uncivilized of mankind, the love of country and the love of glory, the spirit of patriotism and of heroism, have never failed to excite admiration, to call forth applause, and to be crowned by those grateful rewards which are ever dear to the brave, the virtuous, and the wise :

And whereas, the duty of cherishing sentiments so intimately connected with the welfare, honor and prosperity of nations, devolves in a peculiar manner upon the rulers of a people whose freedom and independence are the bright rewards of the patriotism and the valor of their ancestors, and can only be preserved by the exercise of the same inestimable and exalted virtues :

Therefore, resolved unanimously, as the sense of this legislature, that Major General Andrew

* This extra session of the legislature was summoned at a most interesting period of the war. The battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater had been fought in the preceding July : The city of Washington was taken, and the public edifices destroyed, in August—the *demonstration* upon Baltimore, was early in Sept.—and the battle of Lake Champlain, on the 11th of the same month in which the legislature met. It was well known that the British army had retreated from Baltimore to assail some more vulnerable point at the south; and this was the very army, with some additions, whose defeat at New-Orleans by Gen. Jackson, closed the war in a blaze of glory.

JACKSON, and the gallant officers and soldiers under his command, for their noble defence of the city of New-Orleans, that important military post and grand emporium of commerce, especially in the ever memorable conflict of the 8th of January last, *an event surpassing the most heroic and wonderful achievments which adorn the annals of mankind*,† do eminently deserve the unanimous applause, and the lasting gratitude of their country.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this legislature be and they are hereby presented to Major General JACKSON, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for that heroic and glorious achievment.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be signed by the president of the senate and speaker of the house of assembly, that his excellency the Governor be and he is hereby requested to transmit a copy of the same to Major General JACKSON, who is requested to communicate to his brave associates in arms, the grateful sense which this legislature entertain of their signal services, in such manner as he may deem consonant with the occasion.

Such were the embarrassments of the national government at this period, occasioned in a great measure by the monied aristocracy at the east, that the militia called into the service of the United States, were discharged without pay. The sum due them, was about 350,000 dollars. The attention of the legislature was called to this subject, and the matter was referred to a committee, of which Mr. VAN BUREN was chairman, and who, on the 24th of February, 1815, presented a report to the senate, in which, after recommending a loan to the general government for the payment of the militia, he says :

" The committee further respectfully suggest that the services proposed to be rewarded, have been rendered by persons who, generally speaking, are in immediate want of the sums respectively due to them, and to whom further delay would be injurious and distressing—that in the opinion of the committee, their claims to the friendly aid of this state, are not confined to their wants, but are infinitely enhanced by the virtue and patriotism of the objects of that aid—that the monies proposed to be loaned are principally due to the militia of the northern and western parts of this state, and such as were ordered there from other sections of the state,—to the brave men who met and successfully resisted the veterans of the enemy on the banks of the Sararac,—to those who performed tedious and laborious services at Sackets Harbour, and at various other posts on the western frontier,—and to that distinguished band of volunteers, who under the gallant Porter, stamped an indelible record of American valor on the shores of the Niagara."

" The committee, therefore, recommend the passage of the amended bill now reported by them, as a measure, which, while it makes a beneficial provision for a numerous and highly meritorious portion of our fellow-citizens, without detriment to the state, will at the same time, in no inconsiderable degree, conduce to the general good, by a decisive expression of our confidence in the credit of the nation; and will moreover furnish additional evidence of that devotion to the interests of the Union, which it has been the ambition of this state to evince, whereby she has acquired a rank among her sister states, to which her exertions in the late contest richly entitle her, and which it should be the pride and the glory of her sons to maintain."

The elevated standing which Mr. VAN BUREN had acquired by his able and faithful support of the war, induced the republican party to appoint him, in 1815, Attorney General of the state. He continued, however, to discharge his duties as a senator, and was selected again to draft the answer to the Governor's speech, in the session of 1816, after the peace. The following are extracts from this production :

" While the senate sympathize with those of their fellow-citizens on whom the sufferings and deprivations incident to a state of hostilities have fallen with peculiar force, they cannot too strongly express the proud satisfaction they derive from the reflection, that the war in which the nation has been involved, arduous and sanguinary as it has been, *was not only righteous in its origin, and successful in its prosecution, but that our country has arisen from the contest with renovated strength and increased glory.*

"Among the advantages which have resulted to our country from the late war, your excellency has justly referred to the elevation of our national character, and to our increased confidence in the efficacy and stability of our political institutions. While the former is to the nation wealth, strength, and the source of happiness, the latter is the sheet-anchor of their hopes and emphatically the palladium of their liberties."

We have now traced Mr. VAN BUREN'S career from his first entrance into the halls of our legislature in 1812, through the whole period of the war, and up to the ratification of the treaty of peace. The extracts which have been given from the productions of his pen during that great struggle, will re-kindle the grateful recollections of those friends of free principles, who witnessed these noble efforts of a great and patriotic mind. And the young, who have admired his honorable and brilliant career since that period, will find in these extracts the most triumphant evidence of his patriotism and love of country, so conspicuously exhibited in the second great struggle which " tried men's souls " and tested the soundness of their principles.

Every act of Mr. VAN BUREN, and every page of our legislative journal, contradict the calumnies of the Telegraph. The Globe speaks the sentiments of every man of truth in this state, when it says, that the calumniators might with as much justice undertake to convince the people of this state that DANIEL D. TOMPKINS was opposed to the war, as that MARTIN VAN BUREN was. They stood side by side in that fearful contest :

† NOTE.—The words in italic, were stricken out after the resolutions were reported to the legislature.

And until the death of the former, they retained for each other that ardent attachment which springs up between those who have mingled their exertions, their hopes and their fears, in trying times. And Mr. VAN BUREN remained long enough in the senate to vindicate his patriotic friend, against the assaults of his heartless enemies.

Those who know any thing of the course of the "Washington Republican," which was established to hunt down Mr. CRAWFORD, by the basest calumnies—who remember the A. B. plot, and the miserable actors in it—who have more recently seen JOHN C. CALHOUN convicted of the grossest and most inexcusable duplicity; of "paltering in a double sense," with the honest old soldier, whose frankness and single-mindedness are such, that he would not "tamper with his own heart to hide its thoughts," and to whose popularity this modern Janus was indebted for the second office in the nation—who have seen this second officer charging a plot upon Mr. VAN BUREN which had no existence beyond his own distempered brain—will not be surprized at the false and slanderous allegations of the Telegraph against Mr. VAN BUREN. A consciousness that an alliance between *Nullification* and the *Hartford Convention*, for the rejection of Mr. VAN BUREN, has annihilated the aspiring hopes of the high contracting parties, and that an indignant people are summoning them to a certain doom—has induced the "*Lepidus of the second Triumvirate*," to "fall back upon his resources," and from his abundant store-house of calumnies, to give Mr. VAN BUREN another specimen of that *crooked system* for which Mr. CRAWFORD's letter entitles the Vice President to the exclusive right. This is a "system" under which a false coloring is given to history itself, in order to assail such men as CRAWFORD, JACKSON and VAN BUREN—whose characters for honesty, patriotism and TRUTH, cannot be looked upon by this "child of squinting envy and self-tormenting spleen," (to use the language of his present allies), without "searing his eyeballs." Unsatisfied aspirations after power, drive him to madness, as the time approaches when he is to surrender the seals of office, which were confided to him by friends whom he has betrayed and traduced; he will struggle hard to defeat and defame those who have remained faithful to a cause which he has deserted; for he plainly sees that an honest people will no longer minister to his unchastened ambition, and that he is to be left,

"Even as a flame unfed, which runs to waste
"With its own flickering, or a sword laid by,
"Which eats into itself, and rusts ingloriously."

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